

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 242517 TOSEC 280060

NODIS  
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), OGEN

SUBJECT: ARTICLE BY RASPBERRY

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A COLUMN BY RASPBERRY IN  
TODAY'S WASHINGTON POST WHICH IS WORTH EXAMINING IN PRE-  
PARATION FOR YOUR MEETING WITH BLACK LEADERS NEXT WEEK.  
IT DISCUSSES THE MEETING LAST WEEKEND THAT ROWAN MENTIONED  
TO YOU AND GIVES YOU A SENSE OF THE SORTS OF CONCERNS YOU  
ARE LIKELY TO MEET. RASPBERRY IS ONE OF THOSE WE INTEND  
TO INVITE TO THE MEETING.

2. BEGIN TEXT QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSAL

LAST FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, WELL BEFORE THE FIVE "FRONT LINE"  
AFRICAN PRESIDENTS REJECTED IT, A GROUP OF BLACK AMERICAN  
LEADERS WERE RAISING SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HENRY  
KISSINGER-IAN SMITH PROPOSAL FOR ACHIEVING MAJORITY RULE  
IN RHODESIA.

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THEIR EARLY MISGIVINGS SEEM ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT FOR THREE REASONS. FIRST, THEY WERE MOSTLY PLEASED AT THE AMOUNT OF ATTENTION THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS GIVING, BELATEDLY, TO THE QUESTION OF MINORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND GLAD THAT THIS COUNTRY SEEMS TO BE SCRAMBLING TO GET

ON THE RIGHT SIDE (FOR ONCE) OF RIGHTEOUS REVOLUTION.

SECOND, THEY FULLY EXPECTED THAT THE PLAN WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY THE "FRONT LINE" PRESIDENTS, AND THEY WERE PREPARED, IN THAT EVENT, TO SUPPORT IT.

THIRD, THEIR PERCEPTION WAS THAT WHILE THERE ARE IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY REASONS FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LATEST DIPLOMATIC FORAY, IT WAS ALSO IMPORTANT DOMESTICALLY AS A WAY OF SHOWING THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S INTEREST IN A MATTER CLOSE TO THE HEARTS OF THE BLACK VOTERS HERE.

STILL, A TWO-DAY SESSION THAT MIGHT HAVE PRODUCED AT LEAST TENTATIVE SELF-CONGRATULATION PRODUCED INSTEAD A "MANIFESTO" THAT RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT NEARLY EVERY ASPECT OF THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL.

THE GROUP, WHICH CALLS ITSELF THE BLACK LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, INCLUDES MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS (AT WHOSE ANNUAL MEETING THE SESSION TOOK PLACE) AND LEADERS OF BLACK CHURCH, CIVIC, FRATERNAL, BUSINESS AND CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS.

MANY OF THE QUESTIONS ADDRESSED A PERVADING FEAR THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER, IN AN EFFORT TO RACK UP ANOTHER DIPLOMATIC "SPECTACULAR," MIGHT HAVE MADE SECRET CONCESSIONS AND LONG-TERM COMMITMENTS TO RHODESIA'S SMITH AND SOUTH AFRICA'S JOHN VORSTER.

SOME OF THE PARTICIPANTS HAD SEEN AN ARTICLE IN THE SEPT. 19 SUNDAY PRESS OF DUBLIN ALLEGING THAT MR. KISSINGER HAD GIVEN SECRET ASSURANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD HELP TO CREATE, TRAIN AND FINANCE A BLACK NAMIBIAN (SOUTH WEST AFRICAN) ARMED FORCE--USING BLACK AMERICAN CONFIDENTIAL

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GI'S AS "ADVISORS"--AND THAT THERE MIGHT EVEN BE U.S. GUARANTEES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BORDERS. (THE ALLEGATIONS HAVE BEEN DENIED BY STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS.)

THE ARTICLE WAS NOT MENTIONED IN THE WEEKEND DISCUSSIONS, BUT THERE WERE REPEATED SUGGESTIONS THAT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN SOMETHING IN IT FOR VORSTER IN ORDER FOR HIM TO BRING PRESSURE ON SMITH TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL IN THE FIRST

PLACE.

IT'S OBVIOUS WHAT WAS IN IT FOR SMITH, AS WAS MADE CLEAR BY ONE OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE'S QUESTIONS: "WHY MUST WE WAIT TWO YEARS FOR MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA) WHEN, BY EVERY ESTIMATE, INCLUDING ONE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE HIMSELF, THE WHITE MINORITY SMITH

REGIME WOULD FALL WITHIN 18 MONTHS EVEN WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERVENTION?"

THERE WERE QUESTIONS AS TO THE MEANING OF "MAJORITY RULE"- 50 PER CENT PLUS ONE, OR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN A COUNTRY WHERE WHITES COMPRISE ONLY ABOUT 5 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION?

BUT MOST OF THE MISGIVINGS OF THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE TURNED OUT TO BE THE SAME AS THOSE OF THE "FRONT LINE" PRESIDENTS OF ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA: CENTERED ON THE NATURE OF A PROPOSED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THEY CLEARLY WANTED NO PART OF SMITH'S PROPOSAL OF AN INTERIM COUNCIL, HALF WHITE AND HALF BLACK, BUT WITH A WHITE CHAIRMAN, OR OF SMITH'S INSISTENCE THAT THE MINISTERS OF DEFENSE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT UNDER THE INTERIM PLAN SHOULD BE WHITE.

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF THE REJECTION BY THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND THE DEEP DOUBTS AMONG BLACK AMERICAN LEADERS IS TO DESTROY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S HOPES FOR A QUICK COUP THAT COULD GIVE IT AN IMPORTANT BOOST IN TERMS BOTH OF FOREIGN POLICY AND DOMESTIC POLITICS.  
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BUT THAT NEEDN'T BE A BAD THING, IF THE PRESIDENT DOESN'T LOSE INTEREST IN THE VENTURE NOW. AS RECENTLY AS THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, HE WAS MAKING AN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO PUT SOME DISTANCE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND HIS SECRETARY OF STATE, WHO IS SO WIDELY DISLIKED AMONG THE GOP'S CONSERVATIVE WING.

A "SPECTACULAR" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA COULD HAVE FIXED THAT AND ALSO BOOSTED THE PRESIDENT'S STOCK AMONG BLACK VOTERS. THE QUESTION IS HOW MUCH OF HIS PRESTIGE MR. FORD IS PREPARED TO INVEST IN AN EFFORT THAT MAY NOT SUCCEED IN TIME TO HELP HIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

EARLY OFFICIAL REACTION IS THAT THE AFRICANS' REJECTION OF

THE PLAN (OF WHICH BRITAIN'S PRIME MINISTER JAMES CALLAGHAN IS GENERALLY CONCEDED TO BE THE AUTHOR) IS ONLY A TEMPORARY SETBACK, THAT THE REJECTION IS BASED ON RELATIVELY FEW POINTS THAT CAN BE CLEARED UP QUICKLY IN NEGOTIATIONS.

THAT MAY BE CORRECT. IT MAY EVEN BE THAT IAN SMITH NEVER EXPECTED HIS TERMS TO BE ACCEPTED BUT WAS MERELY BARGAINING AS HARD AS HE COULD FOR THE BEST COMPROMISE HE COULD OBTAIN.

THE AFRICANS, ACTING FROM THE UNACCUSTOMED POSITION OF MILITARY ADVANTAGE, ARE SHOWING THAT THEY KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT HARD BARGAINING, TOO.

AND BLACK AMERICANS, IT BECAME CLEAR AT LAST WEEKEND'S LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE SESSIONS, ARE SUBSTANTIALLY MORE SOPHISTICATED ABOUT THE INS AND OUTS OF DIPLOMACY THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST. THEY ARE ALREADY MAPPING PLANS FOR FUND-RAISING AND PUBLICITY CAMPAIGNS TO MAKE SURE THAT THE SOUTHERN AFRICA QUESTION REMAINS A MAJOR ISSUE, AND NOT JUST FOR THE CURRENT POLITICAL CAMPAIGN.

THEY STILL HARBOR ENOUGH DOUBTS ABOUT JIMMY CARTER TO MAKE IT A REASONABLE GAMBLE FOR THE PRESIDENT TO TRY TO WIN SOME BLACK SUPPORT WITH HIS AFRICAN INITIATIVES.

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BUT THEY ALSO ARE MAKING CLEAR THAT IT WILL TAKE CONCRETE RESULTS TO WIN THAT GAMBLE. THEY WON'T BE HAD FOR A GESTURE. END TEXT ROBINSON

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